HOW AMERICA STRANGLES ITS ALLIES: G. D. H. COLE

THE Nation

May 1, 1954
20¢

The Oppenheimer Case

THREAT TO AMERICAN SCIENTISTS

by Carey McWilliams

with comment by Linus Pauling and Norbert Wiener

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Duty of the Lawyer — *Delbert H. Metzger*

A Nation Apart — *Thomas J. Hamilton*
A Review of Pritchett's "The Spanish Temper"

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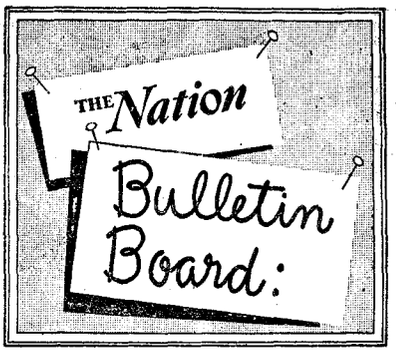

COMING EVENTS: Slated for mid-May publication, an article on Disarmament and the H-Bomb written especially for *The Nation* by Jules Moch, French Socialist leader and former Minister of Defense. . . . Michel Gordey, top European reporter and a staff member of *France-Soir,* the biggest newspaper in Paris, is covering the crucial Geneva conference for us. His first dispatch will appear shortly. . . . Closer to home, Edgar Kemler, who did the excellent profile of the Alsop brothers in the January 9 issue of *The Nation,* will cover the McCarthy vs. Army hearings.

G. D. H. COLE (see page 383) has an international reputation as an economic theorist and enjoys tremendous popularity in another field. He and his wife, Margaret, as a team have produced some thirty-three mystery and spy thrillers, from "The Brooklyn Murders" in 1923 to "Death of a Bride" in 1945.

APROPOS OF our advertisement "A Man's Best Friend Sends Him a Free Copy of *The Nation,*" reader James D. Campbell notes: "It could also be a woman's." Agreed. Herewith an invitation to all women readers: Please ask us to send a copy of *The Nation,* with your compliments, to your best friend—man or woman.

OCCASIONALLY we get letters from readers protesting that they already subscribe to *The Nation* and do not want to receive any more promotion letters. We are well aware of this situation and there's virtually nothing we can do about it. You see, when we—or any magazine—utilize a mailing list in order to solicit subscribers, the list owner does not permit us to check the list against current subscribers, and inevitably some duplication occurs.

IN THE newly published Mentor book, "An Analysis of the Kinsey Reports," edited by Donald Porter Geddes, Hadley Cantril's *Nation* review of the second Kinsey volume is cited and analyzed as one of the first four important reviews to appear. The others were the reviews in the New York *Times, Herald Tribune,* and *Saturday Review.*

IT'S WONDERFUL to receive renewals from subscribers like Mrs. Joan Glick, who also inclosed the following comment: "I would like to take this opportunity to express my most fervent thanks that a publication such as *The Nation* still exists and has not succumbed to the hysteria of the times. It enables one to feel that the 'eggheads' might still have a chance."

JOHN DIEBOLD, whose *Nation* series on automation last year attracted interest throughout the country, has been named editor of a new magazine, *Automatic Control.* An expert in the field, Diebold believes that automation foreshadows a second Industrial Revolution. Eventually, he says, there will be a twenty-hour week—assuming, I suppose, that another twentieth-century development, the H-bomb, doesn't catch up with us first.

IN A LETTER to our publisher the other day a long-time friend of *The Nation* and The Nation Associates announced that in appreciation of the magazine's forthright liberal stand he was making it a gift of $1,000. . . . A former reader, in response to a recent promotion mailing, wrote: "I wish I were able to read your magazine now. But to my sorrow my eyes are bad. At seventy-five one cannot expect to do the things one would like to do. I am, however, inclosing some funds to help you a bit, since you deserve help from all liberal people." MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Defending the S. A. C. B. . . .

Dear Sirs: Permit me to enter a dissent on one point in Carey McWilliams's otherwise accurate and admirable editorial, Gentlemen's Agreement, in the issue of March 6. Mr. McWilliams takes the New York *Times* to task for praising the Subversive Activities Control Board in contrast to McCarthy's "investigations." He comments: "Devoted solely to the pursuit of heresy, the S. A. C. B. has been as destructive of due process and intellectual freedom as any of the inquisitorial committees."

I believe this judgment to be in error. While I have not attended hearings of the board, I have discussed its procedures with one of its members, the Honorable Harry P. Cain, who delivered a most illuminating address at the Akron Civic Forum conference on communism last December. The Internal Security Act of 1950, under which the S. A. C. B. was set up, leaves much to be desired in the way of criteria of definition of "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations; its devices for "control" may prove ineffective and may be subject to the abuses President Truman feared in his veto message; but the fact is that thus far no such abuses have occurred.

The board, to the best of my knowledge, has scrupulously observed due process and has in no way violated intellectual freedom. All its hearings, as the *Times* asserted, are "conducted with dignity, decency, and decorum." All its findings are subject to appeal to the courts. Its members, within the terms of their mandate, are concerned with protecting the constitutional rights of Communists and with clearing such "Communist-front" organizations as have been wrongly so labeled by the Attorney General or by Congressional committees.

No "pursuit of heresy" is here involved save the heresy of communism—which is obviously a heresy and is perhaps, as Arnold J. Toynbee has argued, the great "Christian heresy" of Western civilization, now used by the East against the West. Liberals tend to befriend all heretics. But it is desirable, by the very canons of liberalism, that heretics be honest and not act under false colors. The promotion of such honesty is the function of the S. A. C. B. I believe it a necessary function. The S. A. C. B. may well be pointing the way toward a method of performing this function without bombast, witch-hunting, or character assassination. If others have evidence to the contrary, let them come forward and let us reconsider the issue in the pages of *The Nation.*

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
Williamstown, Mass.

. . . And the Rebuttal

Dr. Schuman's suggestion for a discussion of the issues raised by his letter is a good one, and we would be glad to have further communications on the subject. But may I say by way of a brief rebuttal that "due process" means more than good manners.

The first proceeding of the S. A. C. B. was conducted by a board of five members whose names had been submitted to the Senate for confirmation but who, for the first several months of the inquiry, had not been confirmed and were thus serving at the sufferance, so to speak, of Senator McCarran, who was chairman at the time

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EDITORIALS

The Oppenheimer Case . . . by Carey McWilliams

THE Oppenheimer case has many meanings. It throws into bold relief the delusions on which the federal-security program rests. It points up the threat to democratic institutions offered by the ever-increasing activities of a centralized political police. It italicizes the key issues in the relation between scientists and government. It dramatizes, as no other case has done, the present low state of American politics and the decay of moral values that has accompanied the rise of McCarthyism.

The story begins in January, 1947, when the F. B. I. first assumed responsibility for atomic security. Early in March of that year J. Edgar Hoover phoned David Lilienthal to request that special attention be given a report he was forwarding. The report, which arrived on March 8, dealt specifically with Dr. Oppenheimer, who had been made chairman of the General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission. It should be noted that this was about the time that the F. B. I. forwarded to President Truman its celebrated report on the "espionage ring" which included the late Harry Dexter White. The A. E. C. read the report—and filed it.

BUT Mr. Hoover is a determined man. In May, 1950, the Tenney committee in California heard the testimony of the informer Paul Crouch and his wife, Sylvia, that Oppenheimer had been present at a "closed" meeting of the Communist Party held in his Berkeley home in 1941. It is hard to believe that Crouch would have testified without the authorization of the F. B. I. On this occasion the House Committee on Un-American Activities stepped in, unraveled Dr. Oppenheimer's former left-wing connections, and through the ranking Republican member, Representative—now Vice-President—Nixon, temporarily checkmated the Tenney committee. Then the McCarran committee began to prepare an investigation, only to be dissuaded by Mr. Nixon. Again the matter was dropped, not to be resumed until 1953.

With the new Administration installed in office, the stage was set for a resumption of the campaign to "break" the Oppenheimer case. On May 28, 1953, the Administration's new security program (Executive Order 10450) went into effect, and a new check-up was ordered on all those investigated under the old program. In the same month, *Fortune* ran an article by Charles J. V. Murphy on The Hidden Struggle for the H-bomb, which implied that Dr. Edward Teller, who had designed the bomb, thought Oppenheimer had used his influence to postpone, if not stifle, the building of "the super" and had tried to stop the test explosion at Eniwetok. Dr. Oppenheimer replied with his article on Atomic Weapons and American Policy in the July issue of *Foreign Affairs,* which argued for candor and a strong defense set-up. The week this article appeared, Admiral Strauss became the new chairman of the A. E. C. Four days after taking office, Strauss ordered the removal from Dr. Oppenheimer's custody of classified documents pending a review of his security file. (Dr. Oppenheimer had been reappointed to the General Advisory Committee for a one-year term which expires in June, 1954.)

IN THE meantime, of course, Washington had not been idle. One night in August, 1952, William R. Simms, a radio and television repairman in Washington, received a call from a friend who was employed as a workman by the Bureau of Standards. This friend had come upon a large amount of "trash"—said to weigh a thousand pounds or more—which Dr. Edward U. Condon had left behind when he vacated the office of director of the bureau. Simms suggested that the material should be turned over to Senator McCarthy. It was apparently from this material that the Velde committee got copies of the letters which Dr. Condon had written Oppenheimer about the case of Dr. Bernard Peters. These letters, at any rate, were used by the committee when it finally gave Dr. Condon a hearing in Chicago. They were first published in the New York *Daily News,* which has one of the best pipe lines to the staffs of the Jenner, McCarthy, and Velde committees. Hence it is interesting to read in the *Daily News* of April 14 that the report on the Oppenheimer case which J. Edgar Hoover delivered to President Eisenhower in November, 1953, deals with the subject of "atomic espionage," that it names some twenty-three individuals "involved in an active spy ring," and that some of those named are said to be close associates of Dr. Oppenheimer. The same story hints that "new, documentary evidence of the Red ring and

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its operations, continuing in and out of Washington as recently as 1950, has been uncovered within the last few months."

Once in possession of J. Edgar Hoover's report on Oppenheimer and the new "spy ring," President Eisenhower was in a position to appreciate the quandary that President Truman faced back in 1947 when he received the F. B. I. report on Harry Dexter White. Obviously the President felt that he could not afford to act as Mr. Truman had acted in 1947. Even so, the Administration did not make a final decision until after Mr. Hoover, breaking a precedent of long standing, had appeared in a partisan political role in the Harry Dexter White hearing, sitting by Mr. Brownell's side and giving him invaluable backing and support. It was not until December 21 that Admiral Strauss informed Dr. Oppenheimer of the charges against him and gave him the choice of resigning or answering the charges.

The significance of the "charges" can only be understood if one keeps steadily in mind the fact that they were leveled against Dr. Oppenheimer by the Eisenhower Administration. This is not to say that the Administration plotted to break the case; but its acts and policies set the stage for others to force it into the open. If McCarthy provided the fissionable material that triggered the explosion of the Oppenheimer case, the Administration is directly responsible for the manner in which the issue has shaped up. The President and his advisers knew about the old charges when Oppenheimer was reappointed to the General Advisory Committee. They knew about the controversy over the H-bomb. It does not mitigate the Administration's responsibility to say that it acted as it did in an effort to "jump the gun," or "pull the rug," on McCarthy. All this could mean is that the present state of American politics has fallen so low that it can only be characterized as a kind of political "Mau-Mauism"—a politics of blackmail and terror. The fact remains that the pending hearings were set in motion on the personal order of the President.

McCARTHY, of course, has been preparing an inquiry into "atomic security" for nearly a year. His present difficulties simply forced him to tip his hand a little sooner than he had intended. The atomic scientists were aware that an attack was pending. The *Fortune* article suggested the main line it would take. More recently Medford Evans's book, "The Secret War for the A-bomb"—introduction by James Burnham—laid the foundation. Here the whole "plot" is set forth. The atomic scientists quickly and accurately spotted the book as the opening barrage in a general campaign aimed at discrediting them. (Edward A. Shil's review of the book in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists for February, 1954, under the illuminating caption Conspiratorial Hallucinations, is must reading for those who want to

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understand the background of the Oppenheimer case.)

But the atomic scientists had much better reasons to believe that they were about to be given the "treatment." Until the fall of 1952 atomic scientists continued to enjoy a special status. In the post-war period, as E. W. Kenworthy pointed out in the New York *Times* of April 18, "the whole question of national policy had obviously become vastly complex. The scientist was no longer merely the handmaiden to the military, nor the consultant to the civilian policy-makers. Inevitably he found himself thrust—or because of deep concern, thrust himself—into questions of military strategy and diplomacy." The McMahon Act placed control of the new energy resource in a civilian agency. The war-time control by the military had finally been brought to an end.

But with the first successful test of the H-bomb the time had arrived to order the scientists back to their laboratories. It is generally assumed, although it may not be true, that little military advantage can accrue from the development of bombs with a greater explosive power than the present H-bomb: the lateral force of the explosion would not be greater; the added force would go upward, not outward. With the successful test of the H-bomb, therefore, it became possible to dispense with the scientist as policy-maker. In short, the time has now come to integrate the new weapons as part of the conventional military set-up, which implies, sooner or later, a resumption of direct military control—control

Norbert Wiener: "Conspiracy of Conformists . . ."

I HAVE been asked to say a few words about the Oppenheimer affair. Frankly, I don't believe one word of the charges in so far as they go beyond the facts admitted by Dr. Oppenheimer himself. In spite of sporadic Fuchs cases, disingenuousness and indirection are acts directly opposed to the interest in the truth which should be, and generally has been, the motivation of the scientist. Dr. Oppenheimer has been too closely identified with his own science for too long a period, and has been too much in the focus of public attention, for any fundamental departure of his character from decent and honorable standards not to have been noticeable for a long time.

It is my opinion that Dr. Oppenheimer has committed none of the wrongs of which he has been accused by Washington's professional informers. The charges against him are certain to backfire on the tribe of head-hunters; yet I am greatly afraid that the revulsion of public opinion which is bound to occur in his favor may lead to a false glorification of a new sort of scientist. In the first place, since the middle of the last war the scientist has assumed the new form of the "Megabuck" scientist, who is not interested in any project in which the investment is less than a million dollars. If the life of any scientist is to be so mixed with that of the entrepreneur and the arriviste, it would not be surprising for him to change from an ascetic to a worldly man, worshiping success. Any such scientist, participating in what has become a moving crap game, must expect to get slugged occasionally. In fact, the amazing thing to me is that even though the scientists have been playing big business for fifteen years, their austere decencies are not altogether extinct.

LIKE many scientists in his position, Dr. Oppenheimer has been playing with hell-fire. Let us hope that his services in alerting the American people to the imminent dangers of the atomic bomb have accomplished something to justify the risks of this course of conduct. Those who are now throwing stones at him have no shadow of such a moral justification. Dr. Oppenheimer, whatever his attitude to the A-bomb, has been unable to stomach the unrestricted use of the H-bomb. In doing this he has taken a considerable personal loss, in addition to exposing himself to a dangerous persecution.

The essential point of the whole dispute between Dr. Oppenheimer and his accusers is that it is taking place at a time when there is a certain amount of pressure to use the most horrible forms of atomic warfare in a preventive war. Such a proposal could not stand up for five minutes before the informed conscience of mankind, or indeed before the informed conscience of any great country. It is therefore necessary for those behind the scenes who secretly support this expedient to see to it that public opinion concerning it be ill-informed. Much has already been done toward achieving this goal, but to complete it to the last degree it is necessary to discredit those few people on the inside of atomic projects who know and care about the facts and their moral meaning.

To eliminate these people means literally to let all hell loose. Thus, whether we fully approve of everything they have done or not, whether or not we have considered them sufficiently sensitive to have gone the limit in protesting against the first use of the atomic bomb, against the reduction of physics from a science to a conspiracy of conformists, and against their own share in many other evils of the time, we must defend them and ourselves against the utter brutality and ignorance of their accusers. Dr. Oppenheimer has spoken of the sense of guilt of the modern scientist, but I fail to see much sackcloth and ashes being worn at the present moment. I can only wish that there went with the new sense of guilt a sense of contrition and a willingness to do penance. Still, in this time of destruction, a belated revival of conscience is better than none.

NORBERT WIENER

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of the industrial peace-time potential being shared with big business.

All this is made quite clear by the right-wing columnists and commentators. Listen to David Lawrence (April 15): ". . . government officials have had a good deal of worry about the way scientists feel generally on the matter of policies toward Soviet Russia. Thus some of the same scientists who helped to build the atomic bomb because they wanted it thrown against Japan and to consummate the defeat of the Axis powers later opposed the making of H-bombs for use against Soviet Russia or the Communist empire." Or Sokolsky (April 21): "Actually, what the scientists . . . sought to establish was that private opinion ought to prevail over government decisions when a conflict of view appeared," which is simply Sokolsky's way of saying that, on policy, scientists should be seen and not heard. The implications are clear. Today Oppenheimer is suspect because he opposed construction of the H-bomb. Tomorrow any scientist who opposes its use or suggests that conditions be attached to its use will be suspect immediately. Dr. Oppenheimer favors a policy of candor; but to the paranoid mind candor suggests espionage or a recklessness bordering on lunacy. It is perhaps not without significance, therefore, that the Administration's "Operation Candor," about which we heard so much last fall, has now been abandoned.

IT HAS been suggested that the Administration acted as it did in the Oppenheimer case in order to remove, once and for all, the "malignancy" of fear and suspicion which has developed about the atomic program. But no decision that will be made by the A. E. C. reviewing board or by Admiral Strauss or the President will finally dispose of the "charges" against Oppenheimer. Already Velde, McCarthy, and Jenner are planning to move in. To be sure, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy acted quickly to stake out a claim of exclusive jurisdiction; but this will not keep the inquisitors away from Oppenheimer. "The A. E. C. investigation," writes George Sokolsky, "will sooner or later be followed by a Congressional-committee investigation." Why? Because, so it is already said, only some committee other than the Joint Committee can properly pass on the question of whether the Joint Committee has properly handled this case! If McCarthy emerges unscathed from the current investigation, he will certainly use the Oppenheimer case as the focal point for a general investigation of "atomic security." He said as much in Houston on April 21. Before the A. E. C. board Dr. Oppenheimer will unquestionably receive a fair hearing, but what kind of hearing will he receive before Velde, Jenner, or McCarthy?

Of the many meanings implicit in the Oppenheimer case, these stand out:

1. This case reduces to final absurdity the contradictions which have been inherent in the security-loyalty program from its inception. If a mail carrier, holding civil-service status, can be dropped after years of faithful service because he once contributed $15 to the Spanish Loyalists, then a scientist, guilty of the same heresy, should not be permitted to occupy a highly sensitive position in the security set-up. On the other hand, if Dr. Oppenheimer is exonerated, the government, in all fairness, must proceed to reopen literally hundreds of loyalty and security cases. What difference is there between the "charges" against Dr. Oppenheimer and those which resulted in the discharge of Abraham Chasanow after twenty-three years of service in the Navy Department? Essentially Chasanow was charged with a sympathetic interest at one time in the cause of the Spanish Loyalists and a slight acquaintance with one or two left-wingers.

IT IS high time we recognized that the loyalty-security program is based on a monstrous misconception—namely, that it is possible to "test" loyalty and to spot security risks by reference to a person's political beliefs, associations, and affiliations. The nature of this misconception has been shrewdly described by Lieutenant General Leslie R. Groves in a statement on the Oppenheimer case. Speaking of Oppenheimer as a possible security "risk," General Groves said: "You have that possibility with everybody. Nobody can vouch for any other person. You don't know what's in the back of his mind. You cannot guarantee what a man will do. You know a man is a great baseball player, but you cannot tell what his performance will be." No test will tell you. No investigation will be conclusive. Asked if he considers Dr. Oppenheimer trustworthy today—he had vouched for him originally—General Groves replied: "I don't know. How can you always tell if your own husband or wife is trustworthy?"

The security-loyalty program should be promptly cut back to some reasonable scale. It should be restricted to sensitive positions. It should be based on first-rate intelligence. It should not be used to spread fear and panic and lower morale in every branch of government service. It should be based on a man-by-man, job-by-job appraisal and not on standards of guilty by association, affiliation, or relationship. The objective of any sensible security program should be to restrict as closely as possible the areas in which "secrecy" must be the rule. Hence an efficient security program should be highly selective; it should not be all-inclusive as ours has tended to be. Nor should cases once cleared be reopened with every change of Administration or to suit the whims of Congressional investigators. If we fail to reduce this Frankenstein monster to its proper size, and promptly, it will ultimately destroy what is left of our liberties.

In the last analysis, how can the man who did more

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perhaps than any other individual to uphold the security of the United States in World War II now be regarded as a "security" risk? How can the man who carries about in his head most of the so-called "secrets" of the A, H, and C bombs now be barred from contact with "secret" information? A security program that produces these paradoxical results is cockeyed.

2. Of the "charges" against Dr. Oppenheimer, the new one—that he first sought to delay construction of the H-bomb and then lobbied against the decision to go ahead with it—is the most disturbing of all. Coming in the wake of the John Paton Davies case, the quiet shelving of George Kennan, and the Owen Lattimore and Harry Dexter White cases, the implications are clear. Scientists and technicians are to be held politically accountable for policies which, from the hindsight of the political party out of power at the time, are judged to have been erroneous or mistaken when that party comes to power. The effect is to coerce the technicians, to make them puppets of the policy-makers. Ironically, the military is itself now being coerced in the same manner. For Senator McCarthy's browbeating of General Zwicker is of a piece with Secretary of Defense Wilson's notion that nuclear physicists of the caliber of Dr. Oppenheimer are a dime a dozen. As the Federation of American Scientists has pointed out:

> This kind of attack threatens to stifle at its source the expression of independent views by government personnel, advisers, and consultants. When such views are sought by government, they must be regarded as privileged in the highest sense, and immune from any possible subsequent personal attack on the individuals concerned. This is essential not only in justice to the individual but to protect the ability of government to obtain advice unprejudiced by fear of reprisal.

3. It is time, too, that we dispelled the strange illusion that Dr. Oppenheimer is being "tried" by a "court," and that therefore all discussion or comment is improper "at this time." This is rank nonsense. Individuals who used to jeer at the "courts of honor" in Nazi Germany, and who quite properly jeer at the "peoples' courts" of the new "peoples' democracies," are coming to accept these new security and loyalty tribunals as though they were constitutionally sanctioned courts of general jurisdiction. If this strange illusion persists much longer, it will become possible to try and condemn a man in secret hearing with no one the wiser.

4. The form that Dr. Oppenheimer's answer to the "charges" took—and the form was dictated by the nature of the proceedings—placed him in the unfortunate position of appearing to indulge in a public self-brainwashing. The only heresy, it has been said, is to recant, under pressure, convictions once honestly held. No doubt Dr. Oppenheimer's views have changed; the question is whether he should attest the change in just this manner. His answers helped conceal the real issues. The effect was to personalize the conflict, to convert what is in reality the case of every scientist in America into the case of J. Robert Oppenheimer. And this aspect of the matter has been aggravated by Oppenheimer's friends, some of whom would have us believe that he is "utterly naive," a "mere child" about politics, who "matured late," and so on. This does not coincide with the impression that most Californians have of the Oppenheimer they knew in the late 1930's. The same apology has been offered for Dr. Einstein; yet who that has read his famous letter to the Italian scientists under Mussolini believes that Dr. Einstein is a "child" when it comes to politics? There is something most disturbing about this rapidly spreading dogma that anyone who was anti-fascist in the 1930's was either an innocent moon-calf then or must be regarded as "subversive" today. Carried to its logical conclusion—and we seem to be pushing toward this conclusion as rapidly as possible—it means that those who most actively supported the war against the Axis powers cannot be trusted in the event of a war with China or Russia.

5. It should be emphasized that the Oppenheimer case originated with the F. B. I. It was kept alive by the F. B. I. It was forced to a final decision by the F. B. I. We have been warned many times about the consequences of permitting a national police to take on functions relating to political intelligence. The warnings have gone unheeded. Under any circumstances a political police would be dangerous, but the danger is greatly enhanced by the political atmosphere which now prevails. "When boundless calumny," writes Herbert Ellision, "becomes normal political means, then those who play the political game according to some recognizable rules become afraid. There's a skeleton in almost every closet. . . . Hitler had something 'on' Hindenburg, and it counted with his family in carrying Hitler to the top." Operating as we do at the moment, without benefit of any "ground rules" for political behavior, the politician who has the freest access to the dossiers of the political police is likely to come out on top.

Unfortunately, in the Oppenheimer case, as in many other security cases, the damage done cannot be easily repaired. The board is not likely to find that he is a security risk. But what will happen when his term expires in June? Even if he should be reappointed, can the status quo ante ever be restored? How can the seeds of suspicion that have been sown—most widely perhaps in the scientific community—be kept from sprouting?

There is one paramount issue at stake in the Oppenheimer case. It is that of the freedom on which all other freedoms rest, the freedom of the individual mind and conscience. This is not a qualified right. As Chancellor William Pearson Tolley of Syracuse University has

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Linus Pauling: "A Disgraceful Act . . ."

[*One of the country's most distinguished chemists, Dr. Pauling is a former president of the American Chemical Society and winner of the Presidential Medal for Merit. He has prepared this statement especially for* The Nation.]

THE suspension as a security risk of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer from his advisory activities with the Atomic Energy Commission constitutes a disgraceful act on the part of the government of the United States. This display of ingratitude toward a man who has been foremost among the scientists of the country in unselfish service to the nation cannot be justified by any rational argument. His reputation has been seriously damaged, and it will remain damaged, no matter what is the outcome of his loyalty hearing. The members of the editorial board of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, all of whom know Dr. Oppenheimer well, have described the action of the government as "contrary to decency and common sense," summarizing their opinion as follows: "It seems to us a breach of faith on the part of the Government to call upon a man to assume such heavy responsibilities in full knowledge of his life history and then, after he has demonstrably done his best and given the most valuable services to the nation, to use the facts which were known all the time to cast aspersions on his integrity."

There is no question about Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty. It is stated, and he has himself announced, that in the 1930's he had among his friends some who were interested in communism and social and political questions and who may have been Communists. In the 1940's and 1950's he spent most of his time, energy, and extraordinary ability in outstanding service to the nation. Throughout this recent period he has sacrificed his own career as a productive scientist in order to perform a public service. Few men have better deserved the nation's highest award to civilians, the Presidential Medal for Merit, which was presented to him by President Truman at the end of the war.

The conclusion that Dr. Oppenheimer is a loyal and patriotic American must be reached by any sensible person who considers the facts. It must have been reached by the officials of the A. E. C., and by President Eisenhower himself. We are accordingly forced to believe that the recent action is the result of political considerations—that Dr. Oppenheimer has been sacrificed by the government to protect itself against McCarthyism.

THIS action is sure to have serious consequences to the nation. It may be expected that many thoughtful scientists will decide that it is dangerous to make an important contribution to the national welfare, and that they should not accept employment in government agencies, or should be careful that their contributions are not outstanding.

It has been said that Dr. Oppenheimer opposed the H-bomb program at the time, 1949, when the initiation of this program was under consideration. The members of the editorial board of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists have commented on this point in the following words: "So far as his objections [to making a hydrogen bomb] were moral and political, he was entitled to his opinion as a man, and it would be absurd to say that all doubts on these scores have been resolved or can ever be resolved."

Dr. Oppenheimer is to be commended if he advanced moral and ethical arguments against the manufacture of that greatest of all weapons of mass destruction, the H-bomb. In 1949, when scientists knew that the bomb could be made, the government might have initiated vigorous negotiation with the rest of the world to achieve a system of general disarmament, abolition of atomic weapons, and settlement of differences between nations through arbitration and the use of a strengthened United Nations. Now, when hydrogen bombs have been made and exploded, there no longer remains even the slightest doubt that their use in war would cause the end of civilization. Instead of raising trivial questions about Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty, which he has demonstrated time and again since 1940 through his deeds, the government should be asking him to use his great intellectual ability, in collaboration with many other outstandingly able physical scientists, social scientists, and specialists on international relations and other aspects of the world problem, to find a practical alternative to the madness of atomic barbarism.

THE world is now ready for peace—permanent peace. Charles E. Wilson, the Secretary of Defense, said on April 19 that "the Russians are more afraid of us than we are of them, and their build-up has been a defensive build-up." Great Britain, France, and other nations are apprehensive of atomic war. The world problems that must be solved are great ones, but they can be solved if man's intelligence and ingenuity are used for this purpose rather than for devising new methods of waging war. I would be proud to see the United States take the lead in bringing sanity into the world, abolishing the terrifying threat of a hydrogen-bomb war and its destruction of civilization, and initiating a future of world-wide law and order. LINUS PAULING

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pointed out: "What we too often forget is that even in a world of relative freedom, freedom of mind is absolute. In the inquiry of truth the mind is either free or it is not." Dr. Oppenheimer's anti-fascist past is being dredged up now, not because anyone really believes, in view of his record, that it actually disqualifies him from further service to the government, but because it can be used as one of many means of coercing and coordinating opinion in this country, most particularly the opinion of scientists.

H-BOMB IMPASSE

Easy Formulas Won't Work . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

United Nations

FOR nearly two weeks the U. N. Disarmament Commission spent all its time debating the composition of a subcommittee which was to discuss, in camera, the question of atomic weapons. The United Kingdom had proposed to limit the membership to itself, the Soviet Union, the United States, France, and Canada. Russia demanded the inclusion of Communist China, Czechoslovakia, and India. In the end Russia was defeated, but not before all the old differences on disarmament—atomic and otherwise—between East and West were once again exposed to public view.

This fundamental debate has been dragging on since 1946. At the outset the United States, then sole possessor of the atomic bomb, accused Russia of rejecting true international control in favor of unworkable schemes for international inspection, and charged that Moscow's campaign to outlaw the weapon was demagoguery. In turn Russia denounced the United States for attempting to mask its aggressive policies behind a spectacular but meaningless plan for control. The terms of the problem were changed by the Soviet acquisition of first the A- and then the H-bomb. But the discussion in the Disarmament Commission proved that the existence of "equality of destructive power" does not by itself facilitate a solution to the world's most pressing problem.

The East-West division in the commission remained irreconcilable to the end. In the final vote it was easier for the West to reject Communist China and Czechoslovakia than India. Western delegates, thinking perhaps of the headaches which the Indian Communist Party has been giving Nehru, could afford to smile quietly while they heard Mr. Vishinsky extol "noble" and "inventive" India. In any case they viewed the Russian insistence on the inclusion of the Commonwealth nation as a shrewd attempt to separate Britain and New Zealand from the United States. To a point the maneuver worked: both the United Kingdom and New Zealand had recourse to the old diplomatic dodge of abstaining to spare India's feelings.

IN ITSELF the demand for India's inclusion made a lot of sense, and Mr. Vishinsky was at his best in arguing the point. India's influence on Asian thinking has increased enormously since the last series of H-bomb tests. The tests themselves took place in the Pacific—the accidental casualties were Japanese—and the Orient is convinced that if one day the H-bomb is dropped in earnest it will be on Asians and not on Europeans. That is why Nehru's recent call for an immediate end to H-bomb tests and the outlawing of all weapons of mass destruction has gained for India the respect of hundreds of millions of people beyond its frontiers. To bar the country from the disarmament talks, it is argued, is to bar the half of the world most likely to be affected by any decisions.

Perhaps it is true that Mr. Vishinsky was seeking to drive a wedge between India and the West, or between the United States and its allies. Yet it is a mistake to read into each Soviet move some Machiavellian scheme. As with every major issue confronting the United Nations, the problem of atomic control cannot be separated from the over-all international situation. Relations have deteriorated even since the days of the Berlin conference, when the Big Four agreed to pursue their efforts towards effective international control of armaments within the framework of the United Nations. Under such circumstances it is not surprising to see the Russians courting India, which opposes both the Asiatic NATO project and general American policy in Southeast Asia, and would probably side with the Soviet Union on disarmament and atomic control.

The Disarmament Commission's subcommittee will foregather in London and is to report by July 15. Meanwhile the problem of the H-bomb becomes more acute from day to day. This tremendous challenge to world leaders remains unresolved partly because there exist two contradictory basic conceptions in regard to it: the optimism of those who feel that even if the bomb cannot prevent little wars and may not be applicable to situations such as Korea and Indo-China, it nevertheless acts as a deterrent to any major conflict; and the realism of those who maintain that the theory that peace can be secured through the threat of ever-greater destruction has simply never worked.

Prime Minister Churchill, putting all the power of his eloquence at the service of the "deterrent" theory in his Commons speech of March 30, angrily declared that he would not dream of asking the United States to stop testing "these fantastic weapons" which by their very cruelty "could prevent World War III." But even some of his most ardent supporters pointed out to him that "deterrence" is at best a theory and no substitute for control. Can we really intrust the guardianship of peace, now reserved to the United Nations by its

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Charter, to the H-bomb and its possible, even more dreadful successor, the cobalt bomb? This way lies madness.

Let us get on to essentials. None of the major issues of our day—Germany, Indo-China, Korea, atomic-weapons control—can be settled at any kind of conference until a different political and psychological atmosphere is created in the relations between East and West. It is useless to search for "constructive formulas" as long as the main objective on both sides remains the roll-back if not the annihilation of the enemy. On that score at least Mr. Molotov was right when he insisted in Berlin that the causes of world tension be examined before specific issues were discussed. The West rejects that order of business, seeing in it only a Russian attempt to gain time, just as in the current Disarmament Commission debate it viewed Mr. Vishinsky's courtship of India as a schoolboy trick designed to set the class in an uproar. But as long as West and East cherish their mutual suspicions and hatred, not Berlin, nor Geneva, nor a disarmament subcommittee can make any advance toward a constructive peace policy. And as long as the "policy of strength" prevails over a policy of negotiation, no imaginable formula will induce either side to slacken in its production of atomic weapons. In that case the H-bomb must one day inevitably acquire the right to speak for itself.

DUTY OF THE LAWYER

The Defense of Heresy . . *by Delbert E. Metzger*

BY "law of the land," said the great Webster, is intended "a law that hears before it condemns." To me as a retired federal judge, as a lawyer, and as a citizen, this concept is the bedrock of America's great legal tradition. I am alarmed at the chains on the tongues of lawyers and citizens when the Attorney General of the United States executes his victim in public before he has informed him of the charge, or before a hearing has been held on that charge by a competent and impartial tribunal. I do not speak in parables.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, on August 27, 1953—not before a group of men unversed in the law but before the American Bar Association—dared simultaneously to announce his informer-accusation, his successful prosecution, and his judgment of guilt of subversion against the National Lawyers' Guild. I am sure lawyers who pioneered in our great legal tradition, the men who wrote it into our Constitution, and those who staunchly upheld it through the years stirred unhappily in their graves—men like the great English lawyer Erskine who defended Tom Paine at the cost of his Attorney Generalship, lawyers like the eloquent Webster, the courageous Hamilton, men like Altgeld, Darrow, and Wendell Willkie. But what is needed is live men, live lawyers and judges who will challenge the substitution of this Gilbert-and-Sullivan-like Lord High Executioner for our constitutional due process of law.

At meetings of the National Lawyers' Guild that I have attended I have observed a group of lawyers seriously concerned over the encroachments of agencies of government on the people's constitutional liberties. I have found myself in basic agreement with most of the opinions I heard expressed and been happy to see a group of lawyers courageous enough in these days to resist the concerted attempt to intimidate everyone, including lawyers, from speaking out against abuses of power by government officials. It seems to me that defending political dissenters or persons accused of political unorthodoxy is in the best tradition of the bar. Yet this is the very conduct for which the Attorney General seeks to penalize this bar association and its members.

What is the charge? Mr. Brownell charged, in the intemperate language of the gangster, that the National Lawyers' Guild was "the legal mouthpiece of the Communist Party." He proposed, he said, to place it on his list of subversive organizations. Even the notorious Committee on Un-American Activities showed more respect for the craft of the lawyer when three years ago it branded the National Lawyers' Guild "the legal bulwark of the Communist Party" and tried to get Attorney General McGrath to place it on his subversive list.

What proof of his charge did Mr. Brownell offer? The National Lawyers' Guild, he said, had followed the party line on every major issue "except only those issues so notorious that their espousal would too clearly demonstrate the Communist control." This was surely using loaded dice. This organization of courageous lawyers, Attorney General Brownell said in effect, was guilty not only by association but by dissociation. Agreement is proved by disagreement. Is this illogic not characteristic of the idiocy to which the demagogues have driven us? If it is a characteristic of the Communist to deny communism, how then does the non-Communist or anti-Communist express his views?

BUT let us examine the Attorney General's instances of parallelism with the Communist Party and differences from the Communist Party, which jointly make up his proof that the National Lawyers' Guild is subversive. Among the differences are the Guild's condemnation of the Russian invasion of Finland in 1939, its condemnation of the "North Korean invasion of South Korea" in 1950, its protest in 1950 against the expulsion of the Yugoslav delegation from the International Association of Democratic Lawyers for the delegation's refusal to dissociate itself

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from Tito's policies, and its condemnation of the conduct of the prosecutor and judge in the Czechoslovakian trial of Slansky.

As for the alleged parallelism: the periodical of the National Lawyers' Guild, the *Lawyers' Guild Review,* like the *Daily Worker,* Mr. Brownell says, has deplored "attacks upon intellectual freedom of students and teachers." What thinking American, lawyer or layman, is not alarmed at the bigotry draining our schools of vitality? A few illustrations of the type of bigotry I mean: A school board in Los Angeles bans material of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization from the schools; the state of Texas requires loyalty oaths for authors if living, and on their behalf by their publishers if they are dead, as a prerequisite to the use of their books in schools.

The Communist Party, Attorney General Brownell says, has attacked J. Edgar Hoover as "chief of the national thought-control police" and the Guild has opposed "what it called the Gestapo activities of the F. B. I." Fortunately for America, the Guild and the Communist Party are not the only voices decrying the growing use of the informer and the invasion of homes by wire-tapping. No less a personage than Justice Douglas of the Supreme Court, at a recent address before the Friends Committee on National Legislation, deplored these practices, for which Mr. Hoover and the Department of Justice are responsible. Justice Douglas declared that as the result of the techniques used in the witch hunts of today "anxieties and suspicions are aroused until a community does not know what to believe or whom to trust, until even old neighbors suspect one another. More and more people conclude that the only safe thing to do is to conform; either to stand silent or to join the hunt."

The Guild, Attorney General Brownell says, has attacked committees of Congress investigating communism. Again fortunately for America, thousands of individuals, organizations, ministers, newspapers, labor leaders, and the President and two former Presidents of the United States have attacked the tactics of men like Dies, Thomas, Velde, McCarran, Jenner, and McCarthy. The Guild, Attorney General Brownell says, has opposed the Smith Act and Smith

Act prosecutions. So have many other outstanding Americans. I testified as a character witness for one of the victims of the Smith Act in Hawaii—a trade-union leader who to my knowledge has done more to raise the workers of Hawaii to an American standard of living than any other single person.

Attorney General Brownell cited the fact that the Guild has filed *amicus curiae* briefs in the trials of a number of victims of the executive, legislative, and judicial witch hunt. In many of these cases the Supreme Court and other judges agreed with the Guild's position. Attorney General Brownell's charge, then, boils down to the contention that it is subversive to differ with his office or with his interpretation of what the Constitution and the Bill of Rights mean.

WHAT is the function of a lawyer in our society? The Sixth Amendment guarantees to every man charged with crime the right of counsel in his defense. The Supreme Court has said: "If in any case, civil or criminal, a state or federal court were arbitrarily to refuse to hear a party by counsel . . . it reasonably may not be doubted that such a refusal would be a denial of a hearing and, therefore, of due process of law in the constitutional sense" (*Powell* v. *Alabama*).

Many thoughtful men today—former President Truman, Justice Douglas, and others—have expressed concern that the hysterical attacks on lawyers representing persons charged with holding unpopular opinions are making it difficult for such persons to enjoy their constitutional right to counsel. They have recognized that many lawyers understandably fear to represent persons accused of subversive thoughts or acts because of the danger of personal attacks on themselves for such representation. If this attack upon a group of lawyers carrying forward the best tradition of the bar is not stopped by the protests of the people or by the courts, another American right may go by the board.

Attorney General Brownell's charge disproves itself. The charge, like the record, shows that this bar association is carrying on the tradition of such great American lawyers as Andrew Hamilton, who by his defense of John Peter Zenger in 1730 laid the foundation for freedom of the press and freedom of the citizen to criticize government officials. When Zenger was charged with seditious libel for exposing the corruption of the Crown-appointed governor of New York, the first act of the judge was to disbar Zenger's two able lawyers because they dared attack his commission. Fortunately for Zenger, even as early as 1730 the right to counsel was recognized. The counsel appointed by the court, while conscientious, had no wish to become a martyr. He trod softly. Fortunately for Zenger and for the American people, Zenger was also able to secure the services of Andrew Hamilton of the Philadelphia bar. In the moving appeal that won Zenger an acquittal in the teeth of the judge's instructed verdict of guilty, Hamilton concluded:

> The question before the court and you, gentlemen of the jury, is not of small nor private concern. It is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone, which you are now trying. No! It may in its consequences affect every freeman that lives under a British government on the main of America. It is the best cause. It is the cause of liberty; and I make no doubt but your upright conduct this day will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow-citizens; but every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless and honor you, as men who have baffled the attempt of tyranny; and by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors that to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right—the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power, in these parts of the world, at least, by speaking and writing truth.

I DO not wish to be understood as condemning only the manner of Attorney General Brownell's attack on the National Lawyers' Guild. I am opposed

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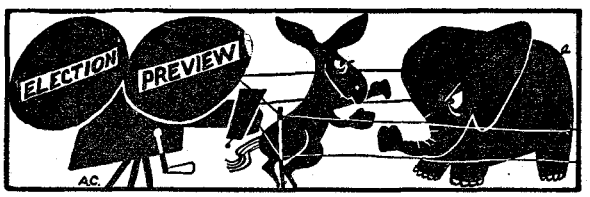
to the black list. I sincerely believe that the lodging in any one man or group of men of the functions of accuser, prosecutor, and judge is at war with our whole constitutional scheme of separation of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government.

What more serious charge can be placed against a man, a group of men, or a group of lawyers than subversion? No citizen, living or dead, can lawfully have his good name taken from him on such a charge except as provided in our Constitution. The law of our land requires an indictment and trial by a jury of his peers, honestly and actually selected from a cross-section of the community, and a trial presided over by a fair and impartial judge.

The conclusions of twelve distinguished lawyers, including Roscoe Pound, Felix Frankfurter, and Zechariah Chafee, Jr., expressed in a report to the American public in 1920 upon the illegal practices of the Department of Justice in the witch hunt of that day, are just as true in this later witch hunt:

> Free men respect justice and follow truth, but arbitrary power they will oppose until the end of time. . . . It is a fallacy to suppose that, any more than in the past, any servant of the people can safely arrogate to himself unlimited authority. To proceed upon such a supposition is to deny the fundamental theory of the consent of the governed. Here is no question of a vague and threatened menace but a present assault upon the most sacred principles of our constitutional liberty.

Let us not permit the silencing of the courageous few who now speak out against oppression. Let us rather join them to drive back into history this new age of the informer and the demagogue and restore our great legal tradition.



Ohio on a Noisy Bender

Cleveland, Ohio

IF OHIO Republicans fail to regain the Senate seat of the late Robert A. Taft, they will have only themselves to blame. Vying for the G. O. P. nomination in the May 4 primaries are Representative George H. Bender of Cleveland and William Saxbe, a small-town lawyer at present Speaker of the Ohio house. Bender will be remembered by TV viewers as the man who rang the bell and sang long and loud in the demonstrations for Taft at the 1952 Republican National Convention. He is supported by the state organization, headed by Ray C. Bliss, and by the Eisenhower Administration—at least Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey is doing everything he can for him. Saxbe came into the campaign late and stresses just one claim: "Bender is no good."

Thomas A. Burke, former mayor of Cleveland, who was appointed to Taft's seat by Democratic Governor Frank J. Lausche, is unopposed for the Democratic nomination and can calmly watch the two Republicans punch each other silly. Should Bender win, as he probably will, Burke will only have to get copies of Saxbe's speeches and use them.

Saxbe is denouncing not only Bender but Bliss, the man who brought him to prominence in state politics and made possible his bid for a state-wide nomination. In 1951 Bliss steered Saxbe, beginning his third term in the Assembly, to the powerful post of majority leader in the House; Saxbe had come to the house in 1947, at the age of thirty, just out of the army. Before the end of that term he was back in uniform and ready to go to war again as a lieutenant colonel. He returned in 1952 in time to win reelection, and decided he would like to be Speaker. During his first term Saxbe had been suspected of too great friendliness toward the Democratic governor, Lausche, but despite this charge his bid for the speakership was encouraged by Bliss.

Bliss and Bender have not been good friends, although Bender, as chairman of the strong Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) Republican machine, helped put Bliss in his $18,000 job. But when the state committee decided to back Bender for the Senate, Bliss played the part of good soldier and went along.

When Saxbe made up his mind to run, he went to see Bliss, who tried in vain to argue him out of it on the ground that it would put him (Bliss) in an enbarrassing position. Saxbe paid tribute to Bliss in his announcement and later said Bliss was a "good man" and could have the state job as long as he wished. Then in mid-April he turned on Bliss and called him "a Judas goat leading the Republicans of Ohio to slaughter." He termed Bliss—the man who had made him Speaker—a "poor judge of men" because he was backing Bender.

Bender, known for years for his penchant for noisy demonstrations, his booming, bombastic voice, and his campaign stunts, has suddenly gone "statesman." His speeches are carefully prepared and very different from his former utterances. He labels Saxbe the "stooge of the Democrats," a "destroyer of party unity," and warns that his rival's tactics may cause Republican losses in the November elections.

Little is heard of issues in this campaign. Saxbe says he is for Eisenhower and would prove a more useful supporter than Bender. Bender has a near-perfect record in backing the Eisenhower program. Saxbe says he can get votes that Bender can't. He has the support now of half a dozen of the state's important newspapers. Bender has the hide-bound Republican press behind him. Saxbe says he is for the "principle" of the proposed Bricker amendment. Bender is for Bricker, and Bricker is for Bender.

The real fight is between the party machine and a brash challenger who himself subscribed to "party loyalty" until he found it expedient to break away. With a light vote expected—perhaps no more than half a million Republicans will go to the polls on May 4—the machine has the edge.

RICHARD L. MAYER

[*Mr. Mayer is on the staff of the Cleveland* Press.]

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HOW AMERICA

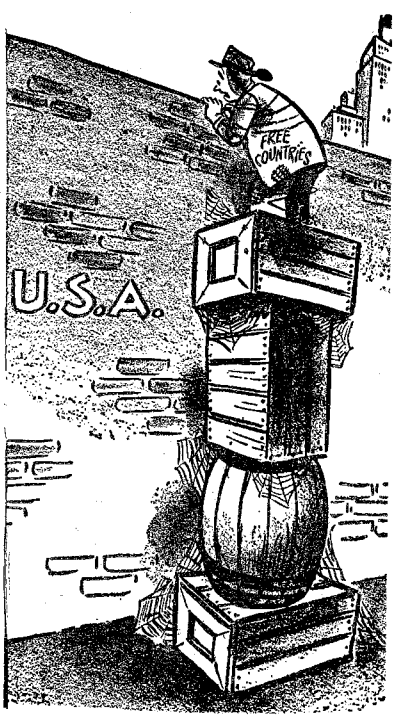
Strangles Its Allies . . . *by G. D. H. Cole*

London

HERE in Great Britain we are still watching anxiously the course of economic affairs in the United States. We are very conscious of the weakness and vulnerability of the British economy and are well aware that a serious American recession would at once disturb the precarious situation of the past two years. After the price upsets of 1950-51, which turned the terms of trade greatly against us and threatened us with a drop in our standard of living, we were rescued for the time being by the fall in the prices of primary goods, which reestablished more tolerable terms and thus, incidentally, helped the Conservative government maintain itself in power. But those of us who study economic facts know that our apple-cart could be upset again at any moment, either by another American spree of stock-piling or, even more disastrously, by a cessation or substantial diminution of the flow of American dollars to the rest of the world. An American depression would hit us much harder than an American speculative boom. What suits us best in the United States is steady advance, accompanied by a growing readiness to accept our exports and by an outflow of unrequited dollars large enough to balance the deficit in Europe's dollar accounts, a deficit that would remain even if American import policy became much more liberal than seems probable in the foreseeable future.

There is, however, no prospect that unrequited dollars will continue to flow out if the United States plunges into a depression, and in such a situation Americans will also heavily reduce their purchases of our goods. Even in the absence of a recession unrequited dollars will not be made available save under conditions which are bound to cancel much, if not all, of the economic benefit we derive from them. Now that economic aid has been replaced by contingent military aid, we get our dollars only on condition that we spend on armaments more than we can properly afford. The dollars are linked to our subservience to American policy in sustaining the cold war. The cold war is ruining us by forcing us to spend on arming vast sums which we need for useful investment and for maintaining our standards of life; but, paradoxically, if the cold war ended and the dollars ceased to flow, we should be, in the short run, worse off than ever. In the long run, provided we took the right measures, we should be better off, but the period of transitional dislocation might well be exceedingly painful.

The longer the cold war goes on, the worse the long-run prospects will become. The industrial areas of Western Europe have developed on the assumption that they will be able to sell, and also to buy, in a tolerably open world market, mainly by exchanging manufactured capital goods and consumer goods for foodstuffs and raw materials from the rest of the world. The cold war not only closes to many of their products the markets of the countries behind the Iron Curtain; it also compels those countries to build up their industries in order to reduce their dependence on imported manufactures. The longer this situation lasts, the more the possibility of future exchanges between East and West will wither away. But in a half-world market from which Russia, China, and who knows how many more countries are to be shut off, how can there be room for the industrial exports of Great Britain, Germany, Japan, and Belgium, to say nothing of the other developed areas of Western Europe? It is nonsense to talk of building up Western Europe into a viable economy on its own in any short period—nonsense, even if the British Commonwealth, or most of it, and the overseas empires of other European states are brought into the account. Vast and expensive changes in the economic structure of all the countries concerned would be required, and there would be a long period of extreme difficulty and depressed living standards while the changes were being made—if, indeed, they could be made in the face of the prodigious political obstacles.



Herblock in the Washington *Post*

"Anything New on Trade Policies?"

At a recent meeting of the Economic Commission for Europe, Lord Reading, the British delegate, said he was eager to see a revival of East-West trade and suggested that, as far as Great Britain was concerned, it should take the form of an exchange of consumer goods for foodstuffs and raw materials. Lord Reading can scarcely believe that a sufficient restoration of East-West trade could take place on this basis alone. American pressure forces him to insist that the E. C. E. limit its discussion to the purely "economic" aspect of the question and say nothing about the "strategic" aspect, but he knows quite well that the ridiculously wide interpretation

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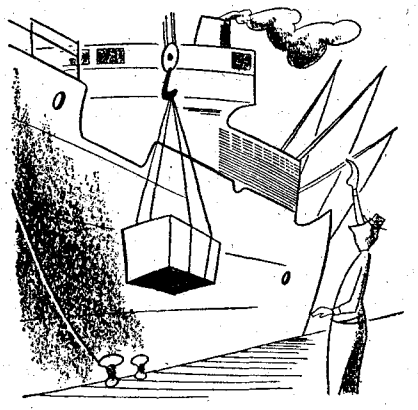
of "strategic" exports laid down by the United States rules out a high proportion of the goods the Soviet Union and its associates want to buy for the entirely legitimate purpose of building up their own industries, quite apart from any preparation for war.

Of course there is a sense in which almost anything can be regarded as "strategic." I remember that during the First World War it was decided that a cargo of apples was "munitions of war" because soldiers might eat them. Such an interpretation leads logically to a complete embargo, for anything that helps to increase a country's well-being or contributes to its industrial efficiency is a source of strength in war. In the case of China, the United States has gone to this length and proclaimed a total boycott—though it has not persuaded other countries to follow it all the way. It has not gone quite so far in the case of Eastern Europe; but it has gone far enough, and insisted that other countries should do the same, to rule out the development of East-West trade on a scale that would help solve the economic problems of the manufacturing West.

Yet it is surely plain that for Germany at any rate the national trade routes run largely toward Eastern and Southern



Europe, and that unless these routes are reopened there is bound to be cutthroat competition among West European exporters in the markets that remain. The situation will become quite intolerable if Japan continues to be cut off from trade with the Chinese mainland and must force its exports into the same artificially restricted markets. It would be another matter if the United States wanted for itself the goods that Western Europe and Japan are in a position to supply. Even in the absence of an American recession it clearly does not want them, and past experience shows how catastrophically the United States market for imports is affected by even a moderate depression. As matters have stood in recent years, with the American economy expanding fast and with dollars being poured out, first under the Marshall Plan and latterly in the form of defense aid, the countries of Western Europe have been barely able to sustain their burdens and cannot in any event continue to sustain them much longer. An American recession will very quickly bring to an end even the pretense that they can be borne and will enforce a change of policy that will be not at all to the liking of Americans who contemplate with equanimity an indefinite continuance of the cold war.

The British Labor government fell from office—no doubt, much to the satisfaction of most of these Americans—chiefly because the obligations it had assumed under American pressure were inconsistent with the carrying out of any domestic program capable of appealing to progressive electors. It had committed itself to military expenditures that ruled out both the improvement of its general productive equipment and the building up of the welfare state. And it had induced the majority of its followers to accept its rearmament program on the plea that the heavy cost of it would last only three years at most and would taper off when the defense structure had been brought to the new level supposed to be needed in view of the Korean crisis. But in the current year's defense estimates all reference to this once-for-all effort has disappeared, and the present government appears to be contemplating an indefinite continuance of military expenditures at a level fatal to the prospects of economic rehabilitation.

True, the actual progress of rearmament to date is far short of the goal set. The costs of reaching it were grossly underestimated from the first and have been continually raised by further developments in the concept of modern warfare. The British Defense Minister, Lord Alexander, has just been explaining to us that we must go on spending immense sums on conventional arms that will soon be obsolete because it will be some years before the new unconventional arms can be got ready. He has added that these unconventional arms will by that time have become obsolete, so that we shall be faced with the immense burden of providing new ones indefinitely. The whole thing is a nightmare. The United States may be in a position to sustain such expenditures, but Great Britain assuredly is not.

WHAT, then, are we to do? I do not wish in this article to enter upon matters of political policy, beyond saying that sheer economic necessity will compel us to fall out of the race before long unless a *détente* can be brought about. I wish to confine myself, for the rest, to narrower economic considerations. In the first place, we must, in conjunction with the other countries of Western Europe, break the restrictions on East-West trade to the extent of narrowing the embargo on exports to actual munitions of war; we must set ourselves free to export across the Iron Curtain a wide range of capital goods now on the forbidden list.

Secondly, we must make it clear to the American State Department that the types of trade practice which it is accustomed to denounce as "discriminatory" and to tolerate only as temporary necessity are bound to form part of our long-run trade policy because they furnish the only means open to us of feeding ourselves and keeping our industries supplied with necessary materials in the absence of continued dollar aid. I am not suggesting that dollar aid ought to continue; on the contrary, I think Great Britain would be much better off without it, provided we regained our full freedom of action to protect our standards of life. Since the American people do not want our exports in more than a very limited amount, we must be free to obtain foodstuffs and materials from countries which will receive our exports in exchange. This means that we must be prepared to sell these customers what they want to buy, without hampering political restrictions. We must build up the largest practicable area for non-dollar trade. This is not a matter of choice but of sheer economic necessity.

That many British business men, quite unaffected by political considerations, or even in spite of them, have come to the conclusion that they cannot hope to keep their plants working at capacity unless they can find markets on both sides of the Iron Curtain has been made plain in recent months by the numbers who have responded to the evident desire of the Russians, as well as of the Chinese, for

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extended business relations. Apparently not inconsiderable sales of Western consumer goods are possible at present, but in the main we must expect the countries of Eastern Europe, and also China, to demand from us machinery which they can use for expanding their own production of such goods. This of course is precisely the type of export which competes with rearmament for the services of the heavier branches of engineering and for skilled labor. It cannot be reconciled therefore with the continued diversion of a large part of these resources to producing armaments either for our own defense purposes or for sales to other countries financed by American military aid.

The Somber Professorial Mood

by Melvin H. Bernstein

Buffalo, New York

THE fortieth annual meeting of the American Association of University Professors (A. A. U. P.) was held in Buffalo on Friday and Saturday, April 2-3, 1954. Reports were presented by committees on the economic status of the profession, on academic freedom and tenure, on the place and function of faculties in college and university government, and on organization and policy. In addition, there were addresses on the climate of opinion in America by Professor Henry Steele Commager of Columbia, on censorship in the arts by Professor Fred B. Millett of Wesleyan, president of the association, and on the importance of good faculty-alumni relations by Ernest T. Stewart, Jr., of the American Alumni Council. All of them were worth attention, especially Dr. Commager's.

It was comforting to learn that "some headway is being made in closing the wide gap between salaries and the cost of living"; the genteel poverty of college teachers has been with us so long that it has passed into our folklore. It was also reassuring to hear that "there has been a significant shift to more consultation" and thus greater participation of faculties in college and university administration.

Generating more discussion were the reports on projected changes in the association's organization and policy and on the mounting paper work made necessary by infractions of academic freedom and teacher tenure. There is an urgent need for increased personnel in the national office to deal with the crises provoked by extra-mural efforts to discredit intellectual investigation in our uneasy society. The national leadership would move slowly. The membership, closer to the informer, the thought policeman, the nervous administrator, the trigger-happy community nativist groups, the colleague who has faced the investigating committee and the newspaper headline, urged a more aggressive policy. Funds were voted for more national-office workers to speed up the mediatory and advisory relief for the more than one hundred pending cases of alleged violation of the A. A. U. P.'s hard-won standards.

Though the delegates kept repeating from the floor that they were not questioning the integrity of the national organization, many were out of patience with the make-haste-slowly methods of the administrative officers. They were critical of the slowness of the A. A. U. P. *Bulletin* in informing the membership about events, of the failure to delegate to local officers the responsibility for dealing with cases far distant from the Washington office, of the amount of time spent at the meeting on the *past* difficulties of the national office, which left too little time to explore possible remedies.

The curse of bigness has fallen upon the A. A. U. P. In the last twenty years the number of chapters has increased from 160 to 481, and the membership has grown from 2,388 in 1920 to 43,525 in 1954, drawn from the faculties of 968 accredited colleges and universities. It is time not only for an increase in clerical and managerial personnel but also for greater regionalization.

Many desperate causes have sought the support of the association. But as Dr. Himstead, its general secretary, said, it does not champion all desperate causes: "professional teaching is its desperate cause." This orientation is underlined in the declared preference of the A. A. U. P. to remain a professional organization and not become a trade union. There are members, of course, who would like the association to exhibit the militancy of a trade union in achieving a satisfactory relationship between the academic worker and society. The association rightly prides itself on its dignified record and its unpublicized activities in averting blows to the profession, but the campus teacher often doubts the efficacy of dignity in this age of scorn for eggheads, brain-trusters, and formulators of tentative and relative truths as against rightist and leftist orthodoxies.

Dr. Himstead agreed with President Millett that protests must originate at the grass roots, in the local chapters. And the meeting passed a resolution that the Committee on Organization should look into a plan for fostering greater regional responsibility in dealing with violations of academic freedom and tenure. It seemed to one observer that the younger members were directing an "old" organization to adapt to new tensions and that the officers regarded it as a constructive suggestion.

The mood of the more than two hundred members who attended was somber. Professor Commager's words at the dinner Friday night articulated this mood. The school system, he said, from kindergarten to postgraduate seminar, must reject the denials of freedom of its social setting or bear the blame of turning out diploma-holders who acquiesce in negations of the free spirit. The school must cultivate free enterprise of mind and spirit, experimental attitudes, pluralism—in short, freedom—or else uncomplainingly accept anti-intellectualism, conformity, intimidation, and the "vulgar and shabby definitions of Americanism . . . the shabby virtues of prudence and caution." The members of the A. A. U. P. who heard him knew that the luster of the American dream had been dimmed but believed the cloud would pass.

MELVIN H. BERNSTEIN is a member of the faculty of Alfred University.

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BOOKS

A Nation Apart

THE SPANISH TEMPER. By V. S. Pritchett. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.75.

By Thomas J. Hamilton

"THE SPANISH TEMPER" is the second outstanding book on Spain to appear in recent months. Sacheverell Sitwell's "Spain" was an excellent study of the timeless excellences of Spanish architecture and painting. Mr. Pritchett has placed lovers of Spain equally in his debt with this analysis of the unchanging characteristics of the peoples of Spain—the Basques, Catalans, Andalusians, and, particularly—for it is they who have placed their stamp on the language and everything that is summed up in the word Spanish—the Castilians.

Passing comments by Mr. Sitwell made clear that he was a supporter of Franco, or at least was so disturbed by the excesses on the Republican side that he preferred to see a Nationalist victory. Mr. Pritchett is a supporter of the Republican cause; speaking of the Republican exiles, he remarks that they "are often embittered, for they have seen the work of a whole generation of educators, reformers, men of science, and artists destroyed first, and superseded."

But politics is not Mr. Pritchett's basic consideration any more than it was Sacheverell Sitwell's. In "The Spanish Temper" there are numerous illustrations of the heavy hand of the Franco dictatorship, but only passing references, or none at all, to the monarchist movement, the bases that the United States is constructing in Spain under the peripheral-defense strategy, and the question what Franco Spain would do in the event of a third world war.

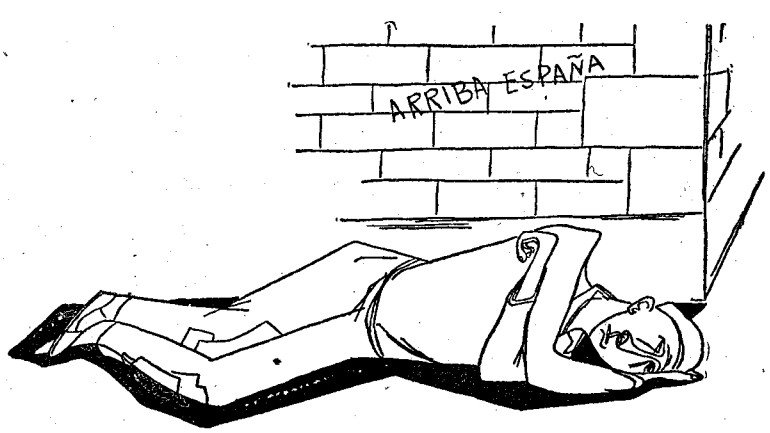
These questions have to be left to the Pentagon, and particularly to the air-force generals who have so amazingly committed the United States to an agreement with Franco under which, despite the hundreds of millions that we shall have to pay out, nobody will know before the guns go off whether Franco will let us use the bases. Anyhow, the Pentagon seems to be right to this extent—that Franco, consummate tactician that he is, has successfully tightened his grip on Spain with the help of the American agreement. Only the most inveterate optimist among the Republican exiles can now see any chance of overthrowing him, and Franco apparently will live out his days in tranquillity as the master of the Pardo Palace.

Mr. Pritchett's reflections on the temper of the Spanish people of course have a bearing on the immediate political issues, and I wish he had expanded on his remark that again, as in 1909 when clerical influence brought the execution of the anarchist Ferrer, "the church is the real political victor, not General Franco." But this is thrown out in connection with his discussion of the free-school movement under Francisco Giner de los Rios and its destruction by Franco. De los Rios, Unamuno, Ortega y Gasset, Falla, Lorca—to name only a few of the outstanding Spaniards who achieved world recognition between 1898 and 1936—are all gone with the wind, and Mr. Pritchett soberly reminds us of "the present intellectual sterility in Spain."

But this is not the first time that Spain has found itself in this condition. It was the same under Espartero, or Narvaéz, or any of the nineteenth-century dictators, and in fact it was much the same under most of the Hapsburgs and Bourbons. Spain changes little through the centuries, and indeed there is little in "The Spanish Temper"—passing aberrations such as the Falange excepted—that will surprise those who know the country through Ford's incomparable "Gatherings from Spain," written a hundred years ago, or Brenan's study of the pre-Franco era, "The Spanish Labyrinth." And of course the definitive verdict on Spain came still earlier in "Don Quixote"; Mr. Pritchett found Sancho Panzas in plenty as he journeyed from Irún through Madrid to Seville and up the coast to Barcelona and Port-Bou.

Though the absurdities of the Falange would long since have disappeared but for its usefulness to Franco as a check to the conservatives, Mr. Pritchett points out that under Philip II Spain became the first totalitarian state in Europe, and that vestiges of that spirit still contend with the inherent anarchism of Spaniards. He remarks that it is hard to say to what extent this conflict "is a racial inheritance from the uncontrollable Iberians, and how far it has been formed in the long struggle with the Moors." But however it arose, the conflict is omnipresent and explains how greatly Spaniards differ from other nations of Western Europe. Africa begins at the Pyrenees, or, as the Catalans would have it, at the Ebro.

If I have understood Mr. Pritchett, he believes that this Spain, with its somber cult of death and its feelings that all non-Spaniards are enemies, is changeless, whatever government it complains against. On my first reading I was inclined to disagree, and to point out to Mr. Pritchett that the Spanish civil war was, after all, the first campaign in the war against totalitarianism. But then I remembered some of the Republican



THOMAS J. HAMILTON is the author of "Appeasement's Child: The Franco Regime in Spain."

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exiles and the gulf between my thinking and theirs when we got off the subject of Franco; it would seem that Spanish liberals have more in common with Spanish conservatives than they have with non-Spaniards, liberals included. Spain remains a nation apart, and whatever may be the eventual possibility of bringing it into the climate of Western thought, it will be a long time before the European-minded movement destroyed by Franco is restored to life.

U. N. in the Jungle

MEN AGAINST THE JUNGLE. By Ritchie Calder. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

By Kathleen McLaughlin

AT LONG last a lingering void on the book counters is filled. A connected, full-flowing narrative about what the United Nations has accomplished over the past six years through its Technical Assistance program was overdue, and the reading public is fortunate that it is Ritchie Calder who has put it together. Mr. Calder is one of the few authors with a wide and sound background of experience and information in this field; being science editor of the London *News Chronicle,* he is also a skilled journalist. He can pack his pages with a fund of detail sure to be cherished by the factual-minded without sacrificing any of the color and drama of the situations he reports. His book is, in consequence, almost as satisfying a chronicle of travel and adventure as if it had been designed for that category. It covers seven countries in Southeast Asia and several months of constant travel.

In an earlier work, "Men Against the Desert," Mr. Calder described the United Nations projects for helping the population of distressed areas in their initial stages. The years between have quickened the pace and broadened the scope. It is pleasant to report that this second book will silence some of the bitterer critics of "give-away programs," as well as bolster faith in the doctrine of helping people to help themselves.

As charted on the map that forms the end-papers of "Men Against the Jungle" Mr. Calder's trek began in Borneo, looped southward to Java, then curved northwestward through the Malay Peninsula, Thailand, Burma, East Pakistan, India, and West Pakistan, into Afghanistan. Sharing the heat, the dust, the exhaustion, and the hilarious moments of his mission were Eric Schwab, photographer, and Herbert Steinhouse, sound recorder. Mr. Schwab's camera work along the route speaks vividly and well for itself through the illustrations.

The flavor that distinguishes this book from pedestrian reporting is quickly apparent. Chapter I starts in the long house of a head-hunting tribe of Dyaks in Sarawak, only recently wooed from some of their more uncivilized customs —so recently, in fact, that the trio is involved forthwith in an eerie blood rite performed as a welcoming gesture. Mr. Calder has a flair for setting the stage in this striking way and then neatly ramming home his major thesis, which is the subtle changes that are being brought about by representatives of the U. N. specialized agencies—the World Health Organization, the Children's Fund, UNESCO, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and others. He is generous with his credits to the contributing governments, to the United States Point Four program, and to the British Colombo plan.

Before he quits the Borneo scene, he describes what was undoubtedly one of the most extraordinary commencement exercises ever staged, in a school converted from a former Japanese concentration camp. The episode comes alive with such clarity that only the stubbornest dissenter would question the author's basic argument—that the scantily clad valedictorian gyrating before the visitors in a primitive native dance was qualified to carry back to his people the type of education that will benefit them most. Mr. Calder illustrates very convincingly the unwisdom of attempting to graft foreign ways on people to whom they are unfitted and the logic of adapting instruction for them to the kind of life they will continue to live.

It is perhaps regrettable that Mr. Calder's material is not fresher; his tour

KATHLEEN MCLAUGHLIN is a United Nations correspondent for the New York Times.

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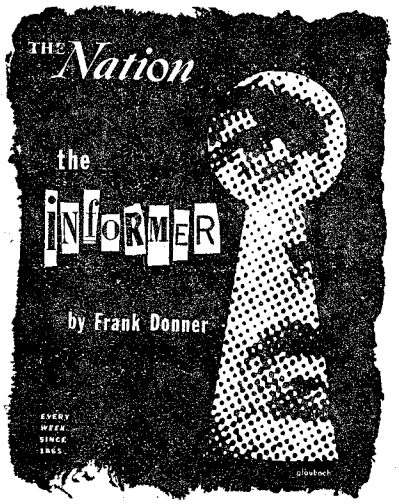

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was made in late 1951 and early 1952. In the closing chapters he tries to bring developments up to date, but the difficulties are obvious. Only the field workers in this world network are equipped to fill in the missing links, and they are far too occupied to furnish further data on the individuals and enterprises Mr. Calder encountered.

In a summation Mr. Calder argues vigorously and sympathetically for technical-aid programs, insisting they have more than justified their ridiculously low cost. He suggests in passing that they might better be titled "technical cooperation," as less patronizing and more truly descriptive of their character. Even industrially retarded countries are contributing technicians, funds, and skills to others in this historic give and take.

In a book packed with surprises, one of the most provocative statements comes well toward the end when Mr. Calder records his "overwhelming impression" that the most important factor in technical assistance is the emancipation of women. He believes that until their women are better schooled and less cloistered, the backward nations can experience no real economic development. Much more recent findings of a United Nations subcommittee on world education support this view. It bears thinking about, at length.

"Men Against the Jungle" carries indorsements by Mme Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, president of the General Assembly, and Dr. Brock Chisholm, first director general of the World Health Organization.

New Books in Brief

A Controversial Statesman

SECRETARY STIMSON: A STUDY IN STATECRAFT. By Richard N. Current. Rutgers. $4.50.

The problem, the Secretary of War said of the Japanese in November, 1941, was "how we should maneuver them into the position of firing the first shot." Stimson's role is already in hot dispute between "revisionists" and "standpatters." Professor Richard N. Current of the University of Illinois, making use of the Stimson-Bundy memoirs, the unpublished Stimson diary, and numerous other sources, here gives us a tentative reappraisal of a strange and striking figure. This study is highly readable and fascinating. It raises more questions than it answers, as was the author's intent. It is not an indictment. But it is a sharp critique, albeit scholarly and judicious, of the man and his views.

The public career of this able lawyer, enthusiastic soldier, and influential country squire is here dissected as a series of misconceptions and deceptions. The "peace" which Stimson boasted of bringing to Nicaragua in 1927 was a war. "Wrong-Horse Harry's" doctrine of non-recognition in 1933 is shown to be not quite what it seemed. In 1941 he urged upon Roosevelt an ultimatum to Tokyo and even a declaration of war. His evasion of responsibility for Pearl Harbor, opines Professor Current, raises doubts of his honor and integrity. Stimson's admirers will protest. Such controversy can be fruitful if it poses basic questions of American policy, future as well as past. This volume does so and therefore merits wide attention.

Pound as Critic

LITERARY ESSAYS OF EZRA POUND. Edited with an Introduction by T. S. Eliot. New Directions. $6.

For Pound as a critic Mr. Eliot makes three claims: (1) that "he said much that was peculiarly pertinent to the needs of the time at which it was written"; (2) that "he forced upon our attention . . . areas of poetry which no future criticism can afford to ignore"; (3) that "he said much about the art of writing . . . that is permanently valid and useful." Of these statements the first can hardly be denied without rejecting "modern" poetry almost in toto, and the second is also probably true. If the third is somewhat dubious, that is because others, including Mr. Eliot himself, have restated a good deal of the best of it both more coherently and without the sophmoric bluster which may have helped Pound get a hearing but is only irritating today. His humor —including misspellings not a bit funnier than those of Josh Billings— and all his nose-thumbings at the bourgeoisie and the "professors" are more

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than merely tiresome. They are symptoms of a weakness which led him step by step to the nonsense he broadcast from Italy. "To die for faction is a common evil/ But to be hanged for nonsense is the devil." So wrote Dryden, and he described a fate Pound barely escaped. That he was an original and perceptive critic remains true none the less.

For Better Government

AMERICAN STATE LEGISLATURES. Edited by Belle Zeller. Crowell. $3.50.

This scholarly survey is a report of the Committee on American Legislatures of the American Political Science Association. It examines the main aspects of our state legislatures and makes a large number of recommendations which are in accord with current trends of thinking. The committee was favorably impressed with unicameralism and legislative councils, which it appraises in some detail. The report recommends, among other things, smaller memberships with better pay, simplified committee systems, improved records, annual sessions, better legislative aids organized as a single service, improved executive-legislative relationships, and legislative leadership through such devices as joint policy committees. It believes that the critical problem of reapportionment should be taken out of the hands of the legislature.

Strangest Australia

RUM JUNGLE. By Alan Moorehead. Scribner's. $3.50.

Readers of the *New Yorker* will recall with pleasure some of the fine pieces of reporting about Australia which appeared in its pages before their publication in this book. Rum Jungle is a tiny settlement not far from Darwin in the Northern Territory of Australia, where uranium has been found. Most of the book deals with this section of the continent—its vast empty spaces, its mines and cattle stations, its strange aborigines and stranger animals. Of even greater interest are the chapters on the Great Barrier Reef, a coral garden 1,250 miles long that lies off the northeast coast. More vividly than most travel books this collection of casual impressions illuminates a little-known and fascinating corner of the world.

Rake's Progress

THE WANDERING EYE. By Hugh Massingham. Sloane. $3.50.

This comedy of a susceptible old lecher's impulsive pilgrimage to the scene of two early amours would far more readily be appreciated if the reader were not constantly baffled by the question of the characters' ages. Julien Brockhurst is described and treated as though he were elderly—on first meeting, his physical fragility and the solicitude of his chauffeur give an impression of seventy, though his later agility subtracts at least ten years from the estimate. But if the result of an earlier visit is a putative daughter, described in terms suggesting late adolescence, and Julien looks back on the affairs as occurring when he himself was little more than a boy—say twenty-one—why, he can hardly be over forty and the women presumably younger in spite of the author's insistence on their faded looks.

This unnecessary mystification undermines the humor of his proposal to Marie whom he jilted as a girl. If Marie

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is sixty, as she appears to be, the duet, the rejection-acceptance, is on a highly artificial plane. If she is thirty-seven, as addition and logic suggest, then the pathos and irony of Julien's second attraction are on a different level. The reader is quite ready to smile with Mr. Massingham—if he were only easy in his mind as to exactly what Mr. Massingham is smiling at.

Theater

Harold Clurman

A HOLLYWOOD motion-picture star and an American actress who shines on the English stage are both eager to produce Julian Funt's "The Magic and the Loss" (Booth Theater) in their respective areas. This suggests that the central role—played here by Uta Hagen—is an interesting one, or at any rate one that might attract audiences, particularly women, everywhere.

The lady in "The Magic and the Loss" is torn by the contradictory calls of her nature and her condition. She is pulled by demands on her as a "free" woman (she is divorced), as a mother of a fourteen-year-old son, and as a wage-earner. The situation is common enough, even typical.

As it stands, the play falls between all the stools. The characters are not given enough body to fix our attention. None of the possible approaches to the material are properly pursued. There is hardly any warmth of feeling, sharpness of observation, social comment, surprise of event, or insight. Nothing is accomplished except a statement of bare fact, and the ending, which makes us assume that no matter what befalls the lady in question she will be chiefly devoted to making a living, is dismal without being pointed by either irony or pathos.

It is arguable whether a play of this kind, which is almost wholly uncommunicative in its text can be vitalized by fine acting. I believed for a long time that virtually any stageable script involving a valid subject could be made arresting on the stage if the acting were sufficiently creative. Most notable actors of the past—Duse included—played at least as much trash as they did fine drama. This is a shocking thought to the present generation of book-educated playgoers, though actors may redeem poor material even now to an unsuspected degree.

The sad fact is that very few of our actors—or directors—at present are *that* creative. Their imagination is crippled when confronted by an uninspired script. As a result, I find myself reluctantly relinquishing my former faith in the transfigurative power of the actor's art. I shall not, therefore, blame Uta Hagen and the rest of the cast of "The Magic and the Loss" for the dry, inexpressive quality of the production.

So the season comes to a soundless end. The drift of journalistic comment about its productions has been optimistic. There were perhaps more hits in relation to the number of plays put on than last season. But what a measure for comparison! Regardless of my own estimate of the individual plays presented, I cannot take a sanguine view of our present theater situation. A few pleasant, or profitable, plays a season do not make a healthy theater.

That there is abundant talent in our country is, in my view, an incontrovertible fact. That this talent is being very inadequately used is equally undeniable. The theater is in chains—and not all these chains are economic. For one thing, our thinking about the theater has become slothful. It follows the fashion instead of attempting to guide it. "When one does not behave as one thinks, one ends by thinking as one behaves." Our conception of the theater is becoming as skimpy as our practice.

I am not clamoring for more masterpieces. It is foolish to expect a great number in any generation—and it can be destructive to judge current production by such standards. But the greatest city in the world must produce more plays, even bad ones. A culture does not flourish through excellence alone; it needs to be fecund. The most profuse period in our theater, the twenties, was the soundest and the most exciting. Every effort must be bent toward increasing our theater activity and particularly its diversity. Our theater suffers from a wretched sameness.

The encouragement given this season to the off-Broadway theater is a useful thing. Let us never forget: the "off-Broadway" theater of the past—the Provincetown Players, the Washington Square Players, the Neighborhood Playhouse, the Theater Guild, the Civic Repertory Theater—was our best theater. More can be done to foster the continued development of this movement.

In the next months I hope to discuss in these pages sources from which a richer theater life might be drawn.

Music

B. H. Haggin

THE New York City Opera's announcement a year ago of its intention to produce "Show Boat" in order to realize the musical values of the work that hadn't been realized on Broadway led me to comment that the music of "Show Boat" was some of the loveliest of its kind but I knew of no values in this kind beyond the ones realized in the Broadway productions of such works—which was to say, none of the kind an opera company was concerned with. And concerning the actual production I must report that it not only fails to offer additional musical values unrealized on Broadway but fails to offer some essential theatrical values the Broadway productions did realize. The music is sung beautifully by Robert Rounseville, Laurel Hurley, and Helena Bliss; but the top-notch musical-show performers and sumptuous scenery and costumes with which the Broadway productions put over the painfully corny play are missing. Not only do works like "Show Boat" have no place in the activities of an opera company, but they shouldn't be attempted by a company that hasn't the money for the Broadway-style production they call for.

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As I had anticipated, the Metropolitan's new "Barber of Seville" was more distinguished, effective, and enjoyable with charming Victoria de los Angeles in place of high-powered Roberta Peters, and the more agreeable-sounding and less aggressive Renato Capecchi in place of Robert Merrill. This even though de los Angeles's ear-ravishing voice was for once disquietingly threadbare in its high register, as was Cesare Valletti's beautiful light tenor this time; while Capecchi's was still the traditional hammed-up Figaro that I suppose it will take nothing short of genius to change. And what I had enjoyed the first time I now enjoyed even more: Eugene Berman's breath-taking first-act set, his other set and the costumes, the comedy contrived on the stage by Cyril Ritchard, Fernando Corena's Dr. Bartolo, and Siepi's Don Basilio, which for me is one of the outstanding performances at the Metropolitan in recent years.

Inevitably, as I watched Corena and Siepi in clowning worked out to the last detail of costume, make-up, and style of movement for extreme contrast between the ebullient and the quietly sinister, I thought of how Virgil Thomson, after watching the performances, had written that the two parts were less effective played for identical buffo effect than they would be played for contrast between the ebullient and the sinister; and I wondered how irrelevant newspaper criticism could get to be.

As irrelevant, one might answer, as a recent statement, ostensibly about Cantelli, but really intended to convey the fullness of long-accumulated experience and understanding out of which the writer could pronounce: "That degree of musical culture and experience which can settle, almost instinctively, on proper tempi and sonorous values for such works as the . . . Mozart [Divertimento] are not yet his"; and the further statement about a performance that had flowed with relaxed ease and grace and a beautiful and moving lyricism: ". . . almost all the movements were too fast and nervous, over-accentuated, lacking lilt and songfulness." It appears that what Mr. Kolodin writes about a Cantelli performance he heard has as much connection with reality as what he writes about Beecham performances that never happened.

Readers continue to question my commenting on what other critics write about music; and I continue to wonder at their doing so, which to me indicates their failure to understand what critical writing is. Apparently they think of it as entirely an exercise of judgment, and don't realize that the critic's exercise of judgment of the artist's public performance is itself a public performance, and as such properly subject to evaluation—evaluation concerned with how it achieves its purposes of informing the reader about the artist's work and impressing the reader with the critic. What Berlioz expresses with literary brilliance, gaiety, and wit in his critical writing is musical perception that deals rigorously with its material; and with this integrity there is an intensity, a passion, a nobility in the operation that brings tears to my eyes whenever I read him. As against Berlioz's way, and Shaw's, and Turner's, there is the way of Kolodin and his brethren, which arouses altogether different emotions.

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Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

of the Senate Judiciary Committee. The Washington *Post* commented editorially: "Unhappily . . . there is a great deal of force to the contention put forward by Vito Marcantonio that 'this board sits in jeopardy, and if at any time it takes a view contrary to that of the chairman of the Senate committee (Senator Pat McCarran) which is to pass on its nominations, the members may never be confirmed in the positions to which they have been appointed.' . . . The board entirely lacks the independence necessary to its quasi-judicial function."

Moreover, as Laurent B. Frantz pointed out in *The Nation* of December 12,1953, the board failed to exhibit the judicial attitude which one associates with "due process." At one point in its first hearing, one board member, Mr. La Follette, withdrawing from the panel, stated: "We will have speedier hearings, I am sure, because the panel member, Mr. Brown (Peter Campbell Brown), whom I have asked to preside from now on, has already evidenced the remarkable capacity to make speedy rulings upon all objections. . . . The fact that they almost uniformly amount to a sustaining of any position taken by the petitioner (the Attorney General) and a rejection of any position taken by the respondent is purely coincidental, I am sure." This is certainly strong language. The members of this board would risk impeachment, in the present atmosphere, if they failed to find as the Attorney General wants them to find on any issue that he brings before it.

Apart from this, however, the Internal Security Act defines the issues in such a manner, and its recitals are so broad, that the act itself offends the spirit and standards of due process. Finally I would say that I find it very hard to accept Dr. Schuman's notion that the board was set up to "promote honesty" in the discussion of political issues. It was set up to track down heretics, and I venture the statement that its subsequent history will show that the heresy pursued is much broader than communism.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

America's Responsibility

Dear Sirs: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has for years been pointing to the inescapable fact that the only safety in this atomic age lies in the prevention of war and in controlled total and universal disarmament. We welcomed the President's proposal of December 12 as a step toward the constructive use of atomic energy. We believe that the United States should canvass every possible means to secure agreement. It is no longer useful to blame all failure to reach a solution on the intransigence of the Soviet government. Since the United States is the only government that has used an atomic bomb, and since it has led in the development of hydrogen bombs, the moral responsibility for seeking agreement on the elimination of these and all other weapons lies squarely at its door.

In the face of the realities of war in the hydrogen world, the threat of massive retaliation seems insanely reckless. While this threat may have been used by the government to secure a stronger basis for negotiation at the Geneva conference, it may well force us into a position where war will become inevitable, and where, despite the President's assurance, we may once more be guilty of using a weapon that will lead to a war of annihilation.

The purpose of the present policy is to save Indo-China and the whole of Asia from falling into the hands of the Communists, but it may have the opposite effect, since it may arouse greater antagonism toward the United States and create the conditions on which communism thrives. A constructive alternative is for the United States to support France in seeking for an immediate cease-fire in Indo-China, and to refer the question to the Geneva conference or to a reconvened U. N. General Assembly.

GERTRUDE C. BUSSEY,
Chairman Policy Committee,
U.S. Section, Women's International
League for Peace and Freedom
Washington

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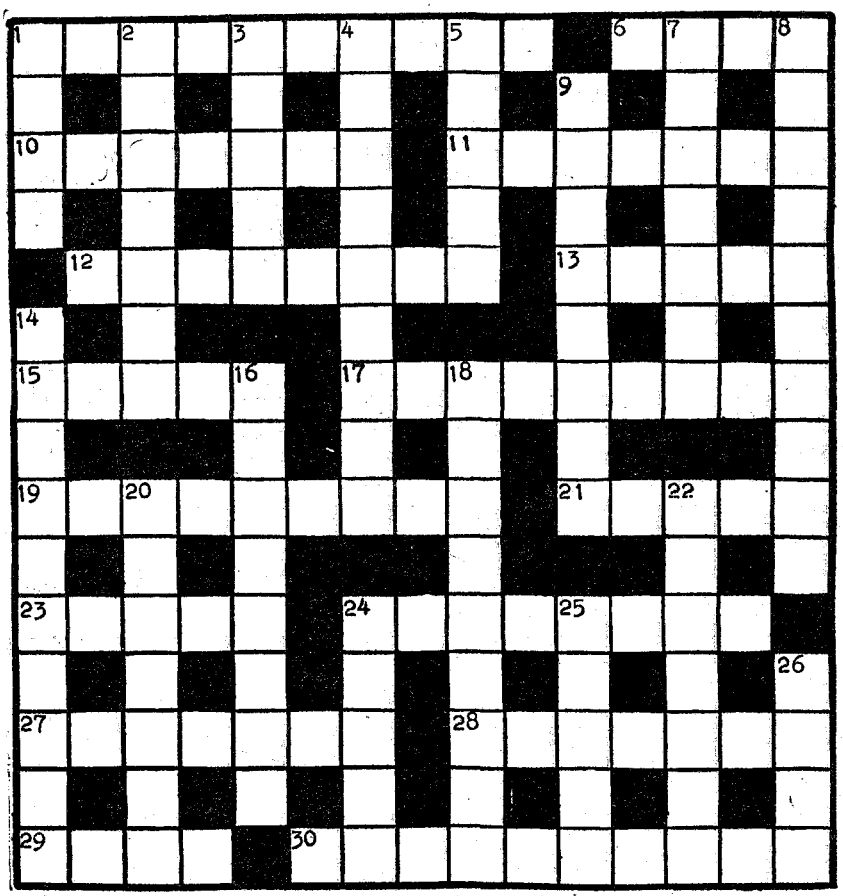
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 6. Peach color? (10, 4)
10 Covering a notice or returning a measure with a hat in the ring, perhaps. (7)
11 This bird causes damage to the man whose name came first. (7)
12 Good material for an Oliver Wendell joke, by the sound of it. (8)
13 See 24 across.
15 Is it a welcome sight to the traveler? So is a different form of it! (5)
17 Indicates the approach of another. (9)
19 Father wanted to get around it, but gave up. (9)
21 Is this why the young actor is called Roddy? (5)
23 Might be loud, but not if it's your best suit! (5)
24, 25 down, and 13 across. Probably electric, with paper. (It could determine the juice current, too!) (3, 5, 2, 3, 5)
27 A little thing pertaining to poetry in quiet surroundings. (7)
28 Surfeit. (7)
29 Washing or baking at home perhaps, but might be 5 when thirsty. (4)
30 Gershwin's plea for feminine propriety? (4, 2, 4)

DOWN

1 See 7 down.
2 Beatings on the chest or arm, most often. (7)
3 Physicist or politician in society? (5)
4 Linguistic form sheet, worked on by students? (4, 5)
5 Monel compound, usually acid. (5)
7 and 1 down. Reputedly creates an impression of agreement. (6, 5)
8 The way some notes end should give a feeling of "belonging." (5, 5)
9 Certainly not against the British standard put forth. (8)
14 We gave them up during the war. (A nuisance, but better than giving up eating!) (4, 6)
16 Does it mean putting your foot down firmly? (Anyway, we wouldn't tolerate it!) (5, 3)
18 Over and over to conclude the French secret. (9)
20 Told how deep a voice is? (7)
22 We meet it in legal language rather than "Quo Vadis." (7)
24 City of 1 down with a middle of 16 as well. (5)
25 See 24 across
26 No wonder he flew on his later trips! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 564

ACROSS:—1 OFF TO THE RACES; 10 TROLL; 11 OVER THERE; 12 MODERNIST; 13 NONCE; 14 OBJECT LESSON; 19 PREHENSILITY; 22 NEEDS; 24 ENSEMBLES; 25 SOLFEGGIO; 26 TREND; 27 TENDER-HEARTED.

DOWN:—2 FRONDS; 3 TOLERABLE; 4 TWO-TIMERS; 5 ERECT; 6 AFTON; 7 EVENNESS; 8 STUMP; 9 DEMEANS; 15 TELESCOPE; 16 ESTIMATOR; 17 SPANISH; 18 REVEILLE; 20 ALLEGE; 21 ASIDE; 23 SPEND; 24 EAGER.

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